/38 cont./

425 father, of his own accord, puts himself on equal terms with his
178 sons with regard to the ownership of the ancestal fields. This re-
593 search in the archives has not been undertaken. But if the pres-
ent state of affairs cannot contribute sufficient detail on that, because the institution is very much obliterated, the acts of this kind were numerous in the past and seem to reveal a very strong tendency of the mores.

Such equalization between father and son runs counter to everything that one could imagine about a patriarchal culture.
584 But it is to this impression that the great individual initiative that such a society leaves to the young people in the choice of spouse would already lead. Betrothals are free. They are perhaps some-
[178] times made in an atmosphere -- grown very pale today however -- of age groups and communal festivity. They never originate with the parents. The latter are in general requested by the young man or the girl to lend to the agreement their intervention, necessary for a juridical consecration and an integral part of the ceremonial context.

592 If the unconstraint of the adolescent with regard to his
613 father is such, if the autonomy of the couple stands out so vividly in the aggregate of the tigemmi, what will the relations of these conjugal families be with /39/ the larger agnatic ensemble of the ikhs, defined by a nickname or an ancestor's name? The impression is that these relations are conceived -- today in any case -- only from the angle of public law. No law, no morality, and not even good form compels the autonomous citizen, the rrami,
[561] to take the advice of his collaterals. On this point this society is even strangely disrespectful of /Fig. 4 appears here/ /40/ old
[426] age, veneration of which we would attribute to it. For the collateral, in nature, is often the usurper or the creditor, intent upon regrouping the gentilitial patrimony "on his head."

551 Now the individual hardly has a name, if one may say this. The anthroponyms are incontestably poorer here, less varied, than in Arab country. More monotonous, and also more fleeting to hear. Generally, they consist only of brief syllables, the assemblage of which is rarely original. There is no village so modest

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 57]

/43 cont./

621 613 VIII. The family. -- Each separate hamlet, or each part of a village, is inhabited, as we have seen, by a patriarchal and agnatic familial group to which in the Sous is given the name of "ikhs." This is the smallest unit, but also the most lively, which contributes toward forming the larger social groups in Berbère /Berber/ country.

621 592 613 [595] The "ikhs" is constituted spontaneously by the natural development of the family that lives in a detached house. Actually the Chleuh /Shluh/, almost always monogamous, especially if he is poor, lives with his sons in joint possession; his cousins are established near him. Foreigners who have come into the country as wage earners or tribal brothers marry the daughters. In three [622] or four generations /44/ a numerous and powerful group is formed, often led by an old man who is the natural leader of this new hamlet.

613 561 562 The various members of the "ikhs" are not gathered together in the course of daily existence. Each generation actually lives apart from the one that precedes it or that follows it; father and son do not take their meals together, at least in public. The men and the women, moreover, form two distinct societies, which have traditions, beliefs, a different vocabulary. The men try to [771] observe the laws of Islam; the women, on the contrary, remain attached to magical practices that are a survival of the most ancient beliefs. Even the markets are sometimes separate (1).

562 443

1. Special markets for women exist in the region of the Haha and the plain of the Chtouka.

562 [788] [543] [527] [831] Finally, during pilgrimages and annual fairs the two sexes often assemble separately. The women's festivals, on the occasion of which are found preserved licentious traditions antecedent to Islam, accentuate even more the separate organization of the two groups.

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

C. FORMAL LOCAL INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL ACTION AND CONTROL

1. *Berber Representative Councils*

Formal traditional tribal controls among the Berbers – Shluh, Beraber, Riffian, and Zenata alike – are based upon a system of superimposed representative councils. Most commonly these are designated by the term *jemaa*, a slight Berberization from the Arabic *ejjemaa*. Other terms, however, are also in use: such are *ait arbain* ("sons of the forty") – employed throughout the High Atlas, Middle Atlas. and the Rif, usually with reference to the council of a tribe or independent district; *diwan* – used by some of the Shluh to refer to the council of the district; *inflas* (pl. of *anflous*, "notable") – used by the Shluh of the Sous region and the Anti-Atlas; and *ayarau* (pl. *iyarawen*) – used in the Rif to refer to the tribal council (Coon, 1931, p. 96; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-222).

623 634 635 [171] [192]

a. *Structure*

In theory, the *jemaa* of the minor lineage or village (the smallest groups to have councils) among most Berber groups (the *ksour* inhabitants excepted) are composed of the heads of each family or tent within the minor lineage or village, each of these family heads having a voice in the deliberations. In practice only the most "notable" of these (usually one per extended family) actually participate in council activities – the status of "notable" (*ikhatar*, pl. *ikhataren* in *Tamazight*) being achieved entirely on the basis of personal character, age, courage in combat, religious piety, acquired authority, or wealth. The *jemaa* therefore traditionally has the character of a gerontocracy; in this they are supported by the general attitude that the elders are the *ait l'ak'oul*, that is, the people of experience and judgment, and they should guide and command the young. Young married men, heads of families, may attend the council, but must remain content to listen to and approve the words of their elders (Doutté, 1905; Loubignac, 1942, p. 280; Montagne, 1930, pp. 220-224).

621 623 [554] [561]

Some exceptions exist to this general rule. Thus Coon (1930, pp. 96-98) found that among some of the Riffians the village council (or